Vol. XI, No. 43 HUMAN EVENTS October 27, 1954

SUICIDE OF THE RICH

By EUGENE LYONS

IN "INCREDIBLE TALE," a now-forgotten book of 1950, Gerald W. Johnson had an incredibly muddled section on the impact of Stalinism on our world. Inevitably, since he is a true-blue "liberal," the author devoted his choicest invective and ironies not against Communism but against zealous anti-Communists. Their motives, he suggested, were purely monetary: a lot of scoundrels cashing in on the jitters of the rich frightened by the Red bugaboo.

His key passage in this connection is worth quoting: "Hordes of shrewd fellows constitutionally averse from labor have been and are now living in Byzantine luxury on the millions poured out by terrified rich men for protection against Communists. These range from plug-uglies hired as bodyguards all the way to Doctors of Philosophy hired to edit handsome and expensive periodicals aimed against Communism. The number of ex-advertising men, ex-newspapermen, ex-schoolteachers, and even ex-parsons in this country who toil not, neither do they spin because shivering millionaires support them handsomely as guardians against Communism, is probably much larger than the membership of the American Communist party."

The essential falsity of these statements will be self-evident to anyone who has ever tried to raise funds for anti-Communist work. What interested me especially, however, was the allusion to slick, well-heeled periodicals.

It happened that I was myself, at that time, writing a good deal about the duplicities of the Kremlin and the skulduggeries of its American agents and dupes. These broadsides, alas, were being published in little magazines and largely without remuneration other than credit in heaven. Mr. Johnson's news was therefore welcome.

I wrote him promptly, as one journeyman to another, asking that he please give me the names and addresses of those lushly financed anti-Communist periodicals. He did not deign to reply; and my private researches failed to uncover the information. In the end I was driven to the gloomy conclusion that those periodicals were figments of Mr. Johnson's runaway rhetoric. I continued to write, so far as the subject of Communism went, for impoverished fringe publications like *Plain Talk, The New Leader, Human Events,* a few Catholic periodicals of meagre circulation.

This does not imply that Mr. Johnson was awarely telling an untruth. My guess is that he was making an honest assumption in line with the logic of true-blue or ritual

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liberalism. Since the millionaires have most to lose, he must have reasoned, he could safely take for granted that their coffers were wide open to anyone willing to oppose the Red menace.

Unfortunately he was wrong. Without going into the problem of motivation, it is a fact that our generation of capitalists has been remarkably niggardly about supporting forthright anti-Communist activities, while even more remarkably generous in subsidizing enterprises aiming to overthrow capitalism.

WHERE, FOR EXAMPLE, are the right-wing counterparts of a Marshall Field, who for years footed the huge bills for a far-left daily in New York, and others of the wealthy pro-Sovieteers whom my sharp-tongued friend, the late Ben Stolberg, used to call "those dirty sons-of-riches?" Where are the fabulously rich foundations as ready to finance frankly anti-Communist projects as some of them have been to finance anti-capitalist and in particular anti-anti-Communist undertakings?

This country in the last two decades has supported, in the aggregate, hundreds of expensive Red-front outfits. Some of them, like the American Youth Congress, built up memberships in the millions, with webs of branch offices, droves of paid organizers, chains of publications. Their formation, care and feeding obviously cost many millions of dollars. Yet they have never lacked the wherewithal to stage conventions in the biggest halls and to disseminate tons of elaborate propaganda materials. The Institute of Pacific Relations alone, for instance, has spent millions.

The financial sinews, we may be sure, did not come from Moscow. On the contrary, the flow has usually been in the other direction. In the final analysis, the funds had to come from the middle classes, the well-to-do, the lush foundations; from the gilded proletariat of Hollywood and the Park Avenue peasantry. They came, that is to say, from the kind of people whose liquidation is the primary goal of the pro-Sovieteering organizations.

A learned paper could readily be written on the thesis that the American rich are hell-bent for suicide. Certainly what Freudians call the death-wish seems stronger in them than the old-style will to survive. How often have I watched fervent anti-Communist ideas, especially proposals for opinion magazines, die aborning of financial anemia! For one such idea that managed to get off the ground at all, there was always a score of anti-capitalist enterprises, neatly camouflaged as "liberal" to be sure, flying high with plenty of gas to spare.

In New York, to cite an instance, there is a local "Joint Committee Against Communism," with a most impressive list of affiliates. It has done a creditable job — despite the fact that it is chronically broke, has no paid workers, and uses part of the meager office of one of its member groups, the American Jewish League Against Communism, which is itself on the edge of bankruptcy.

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NONE OF THIS AFFECTS the totalitarian-liberal folklore on the subject. The notion that opposing Communism is a highly profitable vocation, that Red-baiters and McCarthyites live in "Byzantine luxury," is firmly fixed in the Leftish credo and, like all myths, it is impervious to mere facts.

Thus the self-righteous Elmer Davis, prototype of the breed, finds it possible to state with a straight face (in *But We Were Born Free*) that "there are a good many little organizations around the country, most of them fly-by-night, but one or two fairly influential, which have made of fighting Communism (or rather what they choose to call Communism) a lucrative business. . . . From their standpoint, if Communism did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it."

He fails to explain why, if the business is so profitable, the organizations are fly-by-night and only "one or two fairly influential." These logical stumbles don't seem to bother Davis or his customers. His clear purpose, of course, is to convince his readers that "fighting Communism" is normally not an honest patriotic pursuit but a self-serving, cold-blooded and lucrative business.

It is the kind of smear by innuendo the "unscareables" habitually allege against outspoken enemies of the Kremlin conspiracy. It is implicit in epithets like "professional anti-Communist" and "paid informer" hurled as a matter of course against those who bring to the struggle against Communism a zeal others give only to attacks on the Wisconsin Senator.

These labels are more than name-calling, more than a reflex of anger. They are shrewdly calculated to convince the public that anyone who is unduly earnest and energetic in his disapproval of the Soviets and their American extension must be a low-down mercenary with both hands in Wall Street's moneybags.

More specifically, the purpose is to establish — by sheer repetition — that ex-Communists like Bella Dodd, Louis Budenz, Ben Gitlow, Whittaker Chambers, etc., are moved not by a sense of duty but by plain greed. When these individuals help identify Reds and Red outfits, the American people must be made to believe that it is only for the munificent fees they collect from the government. When they write articles or books, it is simply to make money. (The fact that the writings of the Elmer Davises have normally proved more lucrative than those of anti-Communists is blandly ignored.)

Listen, for example, to that sterling philanthropist Lloyd Paul Stryker, the flamboyant lawyer who, for a fat fee, defended Alger Hiss and ruthlessly cross-examined Whittaker Chambers. Addressing the Virginia State Bar Association on August 14, Mr. Stryker lashed out brutally at "professional ex-Communists, who have found in the field of tale-bearing better compensation than they ever won while they were traitors."

His statement was doubly objectionable, in that it smeared his chosen victims coming and going. It presupposed that they had been Communists in the past, even

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as they were anti-Communists now, only for pay, for the "compensation" in it! Stryker could not bring himself to believe that men and women might be impelled by their conscience and their sense of justice — mistakenly then, rightly and usefully now — rather than by the promise of cash rewards.

THE TRAGIC IRONY of it is that many former Communists find themselves in economic straits precisely because they are dedicated to exposing and fighting the Red faith they repudiated. Had they chosen, like the overwhelming majority of the disillusioned, to crawl away in silence, they would have evaded the ostracism, the ordeal by sneer, which have been their portion. In the liberal vocabulary, the opposite of a "professional ex-Communist" is not an amateur ex-Communist but an ex-Communist who pleads the Fifth Amendment.

I take no pride in the fact that "fighting Communism" is not as profitable, whether in money or in social kudos, as the "liberal" folklore insists. It would be more natural and more pleasant if America were in fact more appreciative of those who seek to safeguard its civilization than of those who collaborate with its sworn enemies.

There is no reason in common sense why pro-Soviet and anti-anti-Communist writers, lecturers, commentators and even lawyers should in general have an easier time of it economically than the active opponents of Communism whom they besmirch. There is no reason why opinion magazines of the conservative persuasions should find survival so much more difficult than those of the Left. There is no reason why the great foundations, products of the American system, should be so partial to efforts to undermine that system.

Anyone who can solve the mystery of why the rich, the respectable, the self-righteous tend so often to line up with the country's enemies may have found the clue to the central malady of our time.

The imaginary world where certain liberals have their being fairly crawls with buyers of ideological souls, jingling pieces of silver to ensnare weak and greedy brethren. When an admirer of the Kremlin turns against its butcheries, it seems to them obvious that he has "sold out" to someone, somewhere. It seems to them self-evident that those who cooperate with the government in neutralizing Communist mischief have been "bought" with some of the "Byzantine luxury" promised by Gerald Johnson.

For those who believe in it, the myth is a last line of defense: beyond lies distressing reality.

Eugene Lyons, now a senior editor of *The Reader's Digest,* was formerly editor of *The American Mercury.* His books include *Assignment in Utopia, The Red Decade, Our Unknown Ex-President,* and *Our Secret Allies.*

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HUMAN EVENTS

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Vol. XI, No. 43 | Wednesday, October 27, 1954 | Washington, D. C.

Vox Populi: On the eve of the great lever-pulled expression of popular mandate, one Capital pollster (of Republican sympathies) offered the following forecast: House — Democrats 235, Republican 220; Senate — 48 Democrats, 47 Republicans, plus Wayne Morse. This is the most optimistic GOP prophecy that we have seen around the town. But the trouble with such a guess is that it cannot measure some intangibles. One such is the action of racial and religious group motivation.

For instance, how much will this factor affect the reportedly close race in Connecticut between Governor John Davis Lodge, Republican, and Democratic gubernatorial candidate Abraham Ribicoff? Almost every serious observer here privately mentions the fact that the latter is of the Jewish faith and that his party rank and file is heavily Catholic. The question is — will these Catholics vote for a Jew for Governor? It is, of course, not "nice" or "high-minded" to raise this matter. But, partly because of more scholarly exploration of this factor in political science in recent years, partly because watchers scent such an undertow today, it is not being ignored.

Similarly, what result will Senator Burke's anti-McCarthyism in Ohio have on that reputedly close race? And how much will this subsuming factor do to numerous contests for Representative here and there in the eastern industrial areas? One thing sticks out — frustration (not apathy) seems compelling in a fight between Tweedledum Ives and Tweedledee Harriman in the key New York battle.

Additionally, it should be kept in mind that there is one sovereign safety-valve for voter frustration which may work overtime next week. That is — concentration of interest on local office candidates. Veteran observers like to say that always a scrap over who will be County Comptroller or Sheriff engages the feelings of more citizens than the race for re-election of a Senator (whose name some constituents cannot even recall). This year, "trades" may be consummated between local politicos of both major parties: in some areas GOP practitioners may "sell out" the GOP Congressman in a deal with the Democratic local boss, so as to ensure the Republicans retaining the Recorder of Deeds. This is no mere cynical observation, as any politician will tell you. Anyway, although it may be scant consolation to those who cherish representative government, this year the voice of the people may choose to speak, indeed may by-pass the scheming frustrators who made up the list of candidates, by ringing mandates for County Surveyor.

Frustration Front: The enervating hand of the White House lies heavily on various GOP Senatorial campaigns throughout the country. The situation suggests why reports from those areas on the chances of GOP candidates scarcely promote optimism in the GOP National Headquarters.

New York. Ives' race continues to drag badly. His attempt to remedy what he calls "apathy" (but what less kindly observers call "voter frustration") was his attack on a business scandal involving Harriman which took place some decades ago. Reports indicate that the Ives prescription failed to revive the

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patient. Now, some people have suggested that Ives should try to win Polish-American votes in the Buffalo area by labelling Harriman one of the architects of "Yalta". (Indeed, quite a justified accusation). But, it is pointed out, Ives cannot do so because such a move would be contrary to the Eisenhower Administration's desire to cover up the facts about Yalta. It is recalled that, early in 1953, the White House boys tried to turn a repudiation of Yalta (by Congressional resolution) into an endorsement of the maladorous agreement between Soviet Russia and the West. The White House attempt was adeptly blocked by Senator Robert A. Taft.

Ohio. There is much doubt about the ability of GOP candidate Bender to defeat incumbent Democratic Senator Burke. Burke might have suffered from his public statement that he would vote for the censure of McCarthy. But the statement did not have wide publication in Ohio. Bender's campaign has been controlled by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and President Charles M. White of Republic Steel who reportedly "rammed his nomination down the throats of the Ohio GOP organization." Consequently, all that this GOP candidate can voice as a theme song is "Ike — ain't he wonderful"? Observers believe that if Bender could have substituted tributes to the memory of the dead Taft for the above, he would have done better.

Idaho. Several months ago, it seemed a certainty that GOP Senator Dworshak would defeat former Democratic Senator Glen Taylor. The picture has changed — according to our information, because Dworshak softened and diluted his campaign utterances. Taylor from the beginning has been vulnerable because he ran as Vice Presidential candidate on the Progressive ticket in 1948 with Henry Wallace. This was the "red as a rose" ticket. It was GOP Senator Herman Welker who gave the first real help and first real fighting spirit to the effort for Dworshk's re-election, according to reports. Welker, pitching in for his colleague, held a hearing of the Internal Security subcommittee (of which he is a member) in Idaho and a star witness, former undercover agent Philbrick, testified that Wallace and Taylor knew that their Progressive party was run by the Communists. Results of this new fighting activity remain to be seen.

Pennsylvania. Well-informed sources in Philadelphia say that the GOP is seriously worried about the governorship race. Defeat of the GOP state administration (Governor is now John S. Fine) would be epochal. Fine was one of a few big Eastern bosses who put over the nomination of Ike at Chicago. Also, Congressman Hugh Scott is having trouble. Scott was one of the first backers of the drive for Ike's nomination.

Report from Wisconsin, by telephone from a GOP incumbent congressman. Believes he's in — has been successfully (he thinks) campaigning on his own record, which includes votes for reduction of foreign aid programs asked by White House. Hopes his Democratic opponent will attack him on this — "he'd better not." Praises McCarthy — the crowd likes that. Comments that his colleague Kersten in a Milwaukee district "is helped" by Kersten's advocacy of McCarthy, except in the rich, upper-class section of his district. [See our article this week, "Suicide of the Rich" by Eugene Lyons.] The farm vote, which way it'll go, is the big question mark in this Congressman's district. Ike? People blame his "Eastern" advisers for things they don't like.

Ike's foreign policy? We talked to this Congressman the day after the famous televised cabinet meeting celebrating Dulles' victory at the European diplomatic table. Our friend says no one he met on Main Street even mentioned the subject that day and the coverage in the local paper was not especially noticeable. This Congressman says the most popular line put out by Ike and Nixon has been the argument that we must not have a prosperity built on wars abroad — that fetches the women folk. Ike himself? Some folk are against him for lots of things he has done — others think that "on the whole he's done pretty well." This Congressman believes that if the GOP loses both houses, Ike's prestige will be under "grave question".

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McCarthy: Former Senator B. K. Wheeler was asked his opinion of McCarthy's allegedly abusive treatment of Zwicker and, according to the Brooklyn *Tablet* (October 9) replied: "If they think that Senator McCarthy has been abusive and harsh to evasive witnesses let them go back and read the transcripts of my examinations (of corruption witnesses in the oil scandals of the Twenties). I went far beyond McCarthy. So did the late Senator Jim Reed of Missouri in his cross-examinations. And bear this in mind. We were only trying to uncover graft and corruption. Treason and betrayal of the country is far more serious than grand larceny and fraud."

Hoover: Former President Herbert Hoover has been invited to visit Bonn, Germany, for the purpose of addressing the German Bundestag (upper House of the West German Parliament). It is believed that Hoover will make the trip following Chancellor Adenauer's visit of state to Washington.

Case of the Mistaken Identity: The dramatic televised explanation of Senatorial Candidate Clifford Case that his sister was merely a member of a left wing "study club" for a while and his charge that the whole rumpus over his sister was a newspaper attempt to smear him seems to have boomeranged. Contrary evidence has been published and gone unchallenged. And people in New Jersey who had initially felt that whether or not Miss Case was a Communist did not reflect on her brother, now blame the latter for the inaccurate and furtive way he sought to "explain all".

The Newark *Star-Ledger* has quoted William Teto, FBI agent, as saying that he identified Miss Adelaide McAlphin Case (sister of Clifford) as one whom he had seen at many Communist party meetings in Boston in the Forties, when he, Teto, served as an undercover agent in that party, for the FBI.

Case, in his politically-financed television talk, sought to give the impression that it was an instance of mistaken identity, that his sister had been confused with another Adelaide Case — Dr. Adelaide Teague Case, no relative of the candidate, also an educator, who died in 1948. This yarn seems to have originated from the pen of Frederick Woltman of the Scripps organization, whose series of news articles attacking Senator Joseph McCarthy was a feature of the "get-Joe" campaign several months ago. The facts as they now appear are that Dr. Adelaide Teague Case did not figure on any Communist fronts, nor was she a Communist. At her death she was teaching religion in an Episcopal seminary in Cambridge. High personages in the Episcopal Church denied the Woltman story and said Dr. Case was neither a Communist nor fellow-traveller, but a woman of high moral character and integrity. Dean Taylor of the seminary remarked tartly: "It appears Mr. Case was trying to clear his own skirts without thinking of the harm done to the memory of Dr. Case."

Finally, Case's attack on the highly respected Newark *Star-Ledger* which had originally broken the news about Adelaide McAlphin Case backfired badly. It turned out that the *Star Ledger* broke the story (which had been going from tongue to tongue for some time previously) early rather than later in order to give Case a chance to explain. (If it had appeared a few days before election, there would have been no fair chance for the candidate to answer). The paper, after a review of the facts in its issue of October 19, comments rather acidly on Case's deportment in the whole matter.

March on Washington: Arrangements for the planned National Rally for Joe McCarthy are being completed. Originally scheduled to be held in a hotel ballroom, necessity for taking care of increased attendance has caused the managers to shift the meeting to the much larger Constitution Hall. The date is November 11 (after the "censure" debate has started) and the time is 7 P. M. The sponsoring organization is the Joint Committee Against Communism, 220 W. 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y. Telephone — Longacre 5-7549. Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, Coordinator, says that those interested should apply to the above address for tickets, adding that caravans are being formed, bus trips organized and railroad accommodations arranged.

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Along Diplomatic Row: The White House is no doubt justified in making a big propaganda play of Dulles' success in getting Britain and France to agree to Germany having sovereignty and an army, and the televised cabinet meeting, with Dulles in the stellar role, was probably popular in New York and Washington (but possibly not in Main Street, as per our item above). However, the diplomatic correspondents are already busy pointing out holes in the agreement. Ludwell Denny (of the Scripps chain) says it will mean little unless Mendes-France really works for it, in spirit as well as letter. And that's quite a question.

But it remained for the dean of diplomatic correspondents in Washington, Constantine Brown of the Washington *Evening Star*, to report (*Star*, October 26), that "Vienna has been tentatively selected for the meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers expected to be held early next year after the treaties signed at Paris last Saturday are ratified by the various parliaments." If that be so, it all looks like the German agreement reached faces a big hazard ahead in an overall agreement at Vienna. And, if this was a "side deal" made in order to get the French to go along with the German pact, then the picture of a West fortified against the Soviets by Germany looks somewhat less bright than it did day before yesterday.

Judge Youngdahl: Some legalists not unfriendly to Judge Youngdahl are hoping that he will yet disqualify himself in the Lattimore trial in spite of his recent heated refusal to do so. They feel respect for the judicial process is now at stake and agree entirely with David Lawrence's point that judges usually disqualify themselves if either party in a case offers plausible evidence of only the slightest bias. In such an event, the presiding judge customarily requests another judge to try the case. To keep the judicial ermine unspotted by any charge of bias, however thin or untrue such may be, presiding judges as a rule step aside.

These legalists feel that in the case of U. S. Attorney Leo Rover's claim of bias against Youngdahl there was much more than a mere plausible argument and more than a scintilla of proof. For instance, any prospective juror would be immediately rejected as not having an open mind about the case, if he had expressed doubts about the guilt of a defendant and had cited voluntarily any facts which he believed indicated the innocence of the defendant.

Rover says this is exactly what Youngdahl did—that, after throwing out four of seven counts in the Lattimore indictment without even waiting to find out how the U.S. District Attorney proposed to prove them, Judge Youngdahl then declared that he was very doubtful about the remaining three counts. On top of this, the judge cited the Tydings Committee of the Senate (now referred to as a "whitewash" committee) as concluding that "there was no foundation to the charges against Mr. Lattimore." In doing all this Mr. Rover claims Judge Youngdahl, in effect, passed on the innocence of Lattimore and, therefore, cannot meet the test of open-mindedness required of any judge in hearing the Lattimore case.

But the counter-charges made by Youngdahl in rejecting Rover's charge of bias haven't helped the former in convincing the public that he is open-minded. Rover had a Constitutional right to make his charge, but Judge Youngdahl characterized his (Rover's) exercise of that right as "scandalous" and denounced the action of the Attorney General of the United States (Brownell) in approving Rover's action as "irresponsible and reckless".

Desecration of Historic Places: Up in the historic town of Concord, Massachusetts — where revolutionary patriots fired the shot "heard around the world"—strange doings are reported. By Presidential proclamation, October has been dedicated to the United Nations. A group of Oklahoma patriots thought it would be a good thing if one day of the year was dedicated to United States Day —and their idea took root in a national organization which has behind it a number of state governors and other prominent citizens. An old friend of the editor of a Concord weekly wrote him asking for some favorable notice for "United States Day".

The editor printed the short letter from his friend on one side of the editorial page, but ran a long editorial in reply to it signed by "initials". The editorial was captioned "Who Are These Opponents of UN Day". The anonymous writer charged that the U.S. Day Organization had been infiltrated by people with long records as "hate mongers"— racial agitators, anti-laborites, and anti-internationalists, and those who are anti-Negro and anti-Catholic. It named General del Valle, hero of Guadalcanal, who faced death many times for his country on the battlefield, as contributing to an anti-Catholic newspaper, although the General is well known for his devout Catholicism. It pilloried him for heading an organization called "Defenders of the Constitution" on whose executive council are General Bonner Fellers, a past President of the California Medical Association, the great scientist Dr. Lee DeForest, who invented the radio and many other advances in electronics, and the famous general Claire Chennault.

On the advisory committee of United States Day, Inc., are such prominent Americans as Alice Roosevelt Longworth (daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt); Colonel Alvin Owsley, former Commander of the American Legion and Ambassador to several countries; the distinguished tax lawyer Robert Dresser; former Ambassador Spruille Braden; Richard Lloyd Jones, the eminent Oklahoma editor; ex-Congressman Samuel Pettengill; and such an outstanding industrialist as William L. McGrath of Cincinnati. Observers of this desecration of Concord say it expresses a new "smear" strategy to attack those who advocate American nationalism by branding them as racial agitators, haters of labor, Negroes, Catholics and the brotherhood of man. Thus, UN agitators seek to convince Americans of the necessity of world government.

Income Tax: A group of leaders of the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes (1915 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, Calif.) will meet early in December in Salt Lake City. The group will include Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah, Corrine Griffith, Mary Cain of the *Summit* (Miss.) *Sun*. They will reportedly consider a new proposed draft of an amendment which — it is believed — will offer the best way to get rid of the 16th Amendment (the income tax amendment). It will permit Congress to lay and collect taxes on corporations not to exceed 25 per cent of their net earnings, as well as excise, sales and import taxes. Congress may also have the power to directly assess the States "themselves" for the common defense of the country. But Congress will be prohibited from levying taxes on personal incomes and inheritances.

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